

For this reason, I urge this body to move forward and extend disclosure requirements to 501(c) organizations. I doubt anyone would suggest that 501(c)(4) civic groups have not made efforts to express a political message. Earlier this year, one 501(c)(5) labor union openly professed its intention to spend tens of millions of dollars to influence House elections. And our nation's media has been awash with efforts by 501(c)(6) corporations to convey their political messages. Yet, our financing system fails to require these groups to provide expenditure and donor information. This is wrong.

Recently, I cast a vote that would seem to be in conflict with my support of H.R. 4762. I voted against similar language in an amendment to the Department of Defense Authorization bill. It is important to note, however, that my vote was on a constitutional point of order. If the Section 527 amendment was included in the Defense bill, it would have converted the bill into a revenue measure originating in the Senate and caused the defense authorization bill to be blue-slipped—essentially killed—when it is sent to the House. This is not a matter of mere semantics, it is mandated by the Constitution. Regardless of the legislation's merits, as a senator I must uphold the Constitution. My vote reflects this duty.

But with H.R. 4762, the procedural obstructions were removed. I support active disclosure in our campaign financing system. By making contributions public, the American people can decide for themselves who they want to support. When issue ads from supposedly public interest groups are aired, the American public can now find out who is funding these ads. For example, we may now be able to learn whether ads for so-called environmental causes are actually being financed by members of OPEC who want to maintain their monopoly and prevent us from exploring for oil in the U.S.

I hope that we will soon extend the disclosure requirements to other organizations so that the American public can truly know who finances the public relations campaigns that influence our modern elections.

Mr. President, a word of caution is in order. I am sensitive to the legitimate needs of private citizens to criticize government without fear of retaliation. We must never forget that we are the nation of Alexander Hamilton, John Jay, and James Madison. The very men who wrote under the anonymous name of "Publius," shaping our government through the Federalist Papers. Would such thought and expression have survived if the cloak of anonymity was removed? Political speech is free speech, and private citizens who have not sought preferred tax status should not be limited in their rights of expression, their freedom to associate, or their right to privacy.

Somewhere, the proper balance between complete disclosure and the

right to free expression resides. I believe H.R. 4762 is a good first step in striking this balance. Clearly, those who expect tax preferred status to advocate their political message are within the grasp of disclosure laws. I reiterate my support for full disclosure, and once again call for quick action upon more comprehensive disclosure legislation.

NOMINATION OF DONALD MANCUSO

Mr. GRASSLEY. Mr. President, I would like to take a moment today to tell my colleagues why I oppose the nomination of Mr. Donald Mancuso.

I would like my colleagues to understand why I have placed a hold on Mr. Mancuso's nomination.

Mr. Mancuso has been nominated to be the Inspector General (IG) at the Department of Defense (DOD).

Mr. President, over the years, I have made a habit out of watching the watchdogs. I have tried hard to make sure the IG's do their job. I want the IG's to be a bunch of junk yard dogs when it comes to overseeing their respective departments.

In doing this oversight work, I have learned one important lesson: the IG's must be beyond reproach.

Now that Mr. Mancuso's nomination has been submitted to the Senate for confirmation, this is the question we—in this body—must wrestle with:

Does Mr. Mancuso meet that standard?

Is Mr. Mancuso beyond reproach?

That's the question now before the Senate.

I have to ask myself that question because of something that happened a year ago.

In June 1999, a former agent from the Defense Criminal Investigative Service or DCIS walked into my office. He made a number of very serious allegations of misconduct about senior DCIS officials, including Mr. Mancuso.

And he had a huge bag full of documents to back them up.

Mr. Mancuso was the Director of DCIS from 1988 until 1997 when he became the Deputy DOD IG.

Mr. Mancuso was the Pentagon's top cop. He was in charge of the DOD IG's criminal investigative bureau. He was a senior federal law enforcement officer.

The allegations were very serious.

Many concerned Mr. Mancuso's internal affairs unit.

It was alleged that an agent assigned to the internal affairs unit had a history of falsifying reports to damage the reputation of fellow agents.

It was further alleged that Mr. Mancuso was aware of this problem yet failed to take appropriate corrective action.

It was alleged that Mr. Mancuso personally approved a series of actions to protect a senior deputy who was under investigation for passport fraud.

It was alleged that Mr. Mancuso and the senior deputy were close personal friends.

The senior deputy happened to be in charge of the internal affairs unit. While head of that unit, this person is suspected of committing about 12 overt acts of fraud. He was eventually convicted and sent to jail.

Mr. Mancuso allegedly took extraordinary measures to shield this individual from the full weight of the law and departmental regulations.

It was also alleged that Mr. Mancuso engaged in retaliation and other prohibited personnel practices.

The Majority Staff on my Judiciary Subcommittee on Administrative Oversight and the Courts conducted a very careful examination of the allegations.

The results of this investigation were presented in a Majority Staff Report issued in October 1999.

Mr. President, I came to the floor on November 2, 1999 to discuss the contents of the report.

All supporting documentation—and there was a mountain of material—was simultaneously placed on the Judiciary Committee's web site.

The Majority Staff Report substantiated some of the allegations involving DCIS officials, including Mr. Mancuso.

I also sent a copy of the report and supporting documentation to Secretary of Defense Cohen.

Mr. President, I also wanted to be certain that my friend, Senator WARNER, Chairman of the Armed Services Committee, and my friend Senator THOMPSON, Chairman of the Governmental Affairs Committee, were up to speed on this issue.

I have continued sending them material as the case has developed.

I want them to be informed about what I am doing and where I am headed with Mr. Mancuso's nomination.

Mr. President, after the staff report was issued, my office was inundated with phone calls from current and former DCIS agents with new allegations of misconduct by Mr. Mancuso and others.

The Majority Staff has investigated some of the new allegations, as well. Some have been substantiated and some have not.

The new findings have been summarized in letter reports.

Those have been shared with Secretary Cohen.

And I met with the new Deputy Secretary, Mr. Rudy de Leon, on May 24th to express my concerns about the allegations involving Mr. Mancuso.

Mr. President, I am not alone in raising questions about Mr. Mancuso's conduct.

At least six other government entities believe that the allegations are serious enough to warrant further investigation. These include:

Chief of the Criminal Division, Eastern District of Virginia

Integrity Committee of the President's Council on Integrity and Efficiency

Public Integrity Section at the Justice Department

Inspector General, Department of the Treasury

U.S. Office of Special Counsel
Inspector General, General Services Administration

Most of these investigations are ongoing. However, at least one has been completed.

The Inspector General at the Treasury Department has corroborated some of the facts and conclusions in the Majority Staff Report.

I also know that the U.S. Attorney, who prosecuted Mr. Mancuso's senior deputy for passport fraud, is very unhappy with Mr. Mancuso's conduct in that case.

The U.S. Attorney has characterized Mr. Mancuso's conduct in that case as: "egregious and unethical."

Mr. President, at this point, there are just too many unanswered and unresolved questions bearing on the allegations.

I think it would be accurate to say the case against Mr. Mancuso would not stand up in a court of law.

Successfully meeting that test, however, does not mean that Mr. Mancuso is ready to be the Pentagon's Inspector General.

The IG's must meet a much higher standard.

The IG must be beyond reproach.

Having questions about judgment and appearance—like in Mr. Mancuso's case—is not beyond reproach.

Mr. President, I will have much more to say about this at a later date.

I yield the floor.

THE MINNESOTA FLOODS OF 2000

Mr. GRAMS. Mr. President, I rise today to discuss the devastating storms of last week that are affecting much of northwestern Minnesota. We are experiencing some of the worst flash flooding in over 100 years. These storms dumped more than 7 inches of rain in the Moorhead, Minnesota and Fargo, North Dakota area in an eight-hour period, swamping hundreds of basements, and streets, and acres of farm land.

This past weekend, I had the opportunity to see first hand the effects of the storm when I visited the communities of Ada, Borup, Perley, Hendrum, and Moorhead. Actually, I had originally planned before the storm on being in the area to celebrate the grand opening of the Ada Hospital following its destruction during the Floods of 1997. Just three short years ago, Ada was hit with the worst flooding in 500 years. They are still recovering from that flood.

How do you explain floods like these? They don't just happen once in a while contrary to reports of 100 or even 500-year floods, they've been happening every year in northwestern Minnesota. Last year, Ada experienced severe hail storms and a Labor Day flood. In 1998, there were three floods in February, May and June. In 1997, of course, there was the huge flood in the Red River Valley.

Swollen from the heavy rains, the Wild Rice River became a huge pool of

water 25 miles wide and 30 miles long that flowed steadily overland through northwestern Minnesota, drowning millions of dollars worth of crops in its path. The pool developed as heavy runoff collected at higher elevations in Becker and Mahnommen counties, then flowed into the Red River Valley toward Ada. You have to realize that this land is very flat, dropping only about one foot per mile, so the water moves slowly, but causes severe crop damage. Several rivers converge and flood prevention measures have failed to funnel excess water into the Red River. I intend to work with representatives from the watershed districts, and the Army Corps of Engineers to see whether past flood control measures have resulted in what has become constant flooding in this area of northwest Minnesota and what can be done to alleviate this problem in the future. I saw fields with three or four feet of water that had been planted with wheat, soybeans, and sugar beets earlier this year. Now, these crops are all destroyed, and the stench of rotting crops has begun.

Earlier this week, Governor Ventura declared this area a state of emergency so that federal, state and local emergency management officials can work together to assess the damage and see whether federal assistance will be required. As if this wasn't enough, eight counties in southeastern Minnesota were declared emergency areas and Governor Ventura has asked the federal government for money to help with their recovery following rainstorms of May 17th. I was happy to support the Governor's request and to learn that President Clinton has declared this region a disaster so that they are eligible for federal funding. This region of Minnesota received 5 to 7 inches of rain on May 17th, followed by another heavy storm May 31. Since then, even small rainfalls have resulted in overflows and drainage problems.

It's too early to tell the extent of the damage in northwestern Minnesota. Preliminary estimates include damage to 430 houses, primarily in the Moorhead area, and \$10 million damage to crops in Becker and Mahnommen counties.

But losses will go much higher. The greatest crop damage appears to be in Clay and Norman counties. There, crops have been damaged or destroyed on more than 500 square miles of land, according to county officials. That could mean \$50 million in lost crops, and half that again in out-of-pocket planting costs.

Flooding remains a serious blow to farmers in Minnesota. There are about 300 commercial farmers left in Norman County in northwestern Minnesota. They've been losing 20 or 30 farms every year recently. It's too late to plant any cash crops in that part of the state. Some farmers will plant a "cover crop" to control erosion; others simply will try to control weeds and start planning for next year.

As in every disaster that my state has faced, I've been inspired once again

by the people of Minnesota, who rally together for their communities when tragedy strikes. It's during critical times such as these that we finally understand the importance of neighbor helping neighbor. At a time when we all too often fail to make the effort to get to know and appreciate our neighbors, Minnesotans in a great many of our communities have formed lasting bonds over this past week and found their civic spirit has been restored.

Mr. President, I intend to work with Governor Ventura to examine the need for federal funding to help those Minnesotans devastated by this most recent flooding. I also want to work with the Governor, the Farm Services Administration, and the Department of Agriculture in anticipation of federal funding needs for farmers who have had severe crop losses. I stand together with my colleagues in the Minnesota delegation, and with our colleagues from North Dakota who are facing destruction in their states equal to our own. When disaster strikes, we are not Republicans or Democrats. We are representatives of the people, and we will do whatever we must to protect our citizens when their lives, homes and property are threatened.

THE PRESIDENT'S ROADLESS INITIATIVE

Mr. SMITH of Oregon. Mr. President, I come to the floor of the Senate this week as the Forest Service has launched a series of meetings in my state and around the country to solicit comments on the Administration's proposed roadless initiative. I want to encourage Oregonians to send in their comments and attend these meetings to make their voices heard.

I am concerned that so many of my constituents will not take part in this comment period in part because they believe that this roadless policy is a foregone conclusion. Frankly, I don't think the Forest Service did much to change those feelings by including language in its draft Environmental Impact Statement (EIS), which characterized loggers, mill workers, and people in the timber products industry in general as uneducated, opportunistic, and unable to adapt to change. Many Oregonians, not just those in resource industries, were offended by this.

I understand that the Administration has subsequently apologized, but I am afraid this incident only added to the feeling held by many Oregonians that the decisions about this roadless plan have already been made. So I want to take this opportunity today to outline some of my concerns about this roadless initiative and to encourage other Oregonians to take advantage of the remaining weeks of this public comment period to do the same.

Mr. President, the management of the roadless areas in our National Forest System has been the subject of debate for many years. We had the RARE I (Roadless Area Review and Evaluation) process in the early 1970s leading